



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

United States, was chosen president of the commission, and Sir Gordon Stewart, of the British delegation, and Senator Scialoja, of the Italian delegation, were chosen vice-presidents. M. de la Pradelle was appointed secretary of the commission.

It was decided to appoint three sub-committees, two for the examination of questions of law and one for the examination of facts. The following persons were named as a committee of three to nominate members of the above-mentioned sub-committees and to determine the mandate under which the sub-committees in question will act: W. F. Massey, of the British delegation; M. Tardieu, of the French delegation, and M. Politis, Greek delegate.

RUSSIA AND THE CONFERENCE

FRANCE DECLINES TO RECOGNIZE THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT—THE ALLIED COUNCIL INVITES ALL RUSSIAN FACTIONS TO A SPECIAL CONFERENCE

Russia's internal condition being what it was when the representatives of the nations arrived in Paris, they at once were faced with the necessity of making some decision as to recognition or rejection of the various factions seeking admission to the Conference. Moreover there was the equally urgent necessity of deciding upon a policy of increase of Allied forces within Russia or of their withdrawal. Through the "indiscretion" of an American journalist a Parisian journal, sympathetic with the Bolshevik régime, was given information coming from responsible American officials showing that Great Britain and the United States were much more favorably inclined toward recognition of the Soviet government than was France and other of the Allies.

On January 11, the French Foreign Minister's confirmation of this intimation came, in the form of an official communication, in which Stephen Pinchon, the Minister in question, said:

On January 5, 1919, the British Embassy sent me a British proposition, which also was sent to Rome, Washington, and Tokio, suggesting the sending of a message to the Government of the Soviets at Moscow, to the Governments of General Kolchak at Omsk, General Denikine at Ekaterinodar, and Nicholas Tschalkovsky at Archangel, and also to all the other Governments constituted by the different Russian nationalities.

This message would invite all these Governments and all Russian parties completely to cease hostilities, violence and reprisals and establish peace, both, among each other and with the neighboring States. This truce would be requested for the duration of the Peace Conference, one of the ends of which is to re-establish peace in Russia and the neighboring countries and bring the desired succor to the suffering populations.

In case the various Russian Governments, including that of the Soviets, should comply with this invitation, they would be permitted to send delegates to the Peace Conference.

While rendering full homage to the generous spirit of universal reconciliation with which the British Government was inspired in making this proposition, the French Government is unable to give its approval to such a suggestion which fails to take into account the principles which have not ceased to dominate its policy and that of the powers in Russia.

The criminal régime of the Bolsheviks, which does not represent in any degree that of a democratic government or furnish any possibility whatever of developing into a government, since it is supported solely by the lowest passions of anarchical oppression, in negation of all the principles of

public and private right, cannot claim to be recognized as a regular government.

Will Make No Contract with Crime.

If the Allies were weak or imprudent enough to act thus they would give the lie, in the first place, to the principles of justice and right which constitute their force and honor and would give to the Bolshevik propaganda in the outside world a power and extension to which they would run the risk of being the first victims. The French Government, so far as it is concerned, will make no contract with crime.

By agreeing to recognize the Bolshevik Government we should give the lie to the policy—which the Allies have not ceased to sustain in agreement—of furnishing at all accessible points of Russia all the aid and succor possible to give to the healthy, honest, faithful elements of Russia in order to help them escape from the bloody and disorderly tyranny of the Bolsheviks and to reconstitute a regular government by themselves.

It may be added that, aside from the Bolsheviks, the Allies can perfectly well admit the different Russian nationalities to present their claims. As regards the dangers with which the menace of the Red armies threaten them, we should not cease to supply arms and money and even military support compatible with our aims.

Method and patience combined, together with the impossibility that any régime can last without a regular organization for maintaining, provisioning, transport, order, credit, &c., will in the end overcome Russian internal anarchy. It may be prolonged for a certain time, but it can in no case possibly triumph definitely, and we shall continue resolutely to refuse it any recognition, and to treat it as an enemy.

For the next week discussion of the problem became more acute in and out of the Council, as the result of this frank declaration by France, and this debate together with happenings in Russia of a kind favorable in a military way to the Soviet Government, brought about, first a solidifying of the Anglo-American sentiment favorable to a Fabian policy, and second modification of the French, Italian and Japanese attitudes,

For on January 23 the Supreme Council issued the following statement anent Russia and the Conference:

The President of the United States, the Prime Ministers and the Foreign Ministers of the allied and associated Powers and the Japanese representatives met at the Quay d'Orsay between 3 and 5.30 this afternoon and approved the proposal of President Wilson, which reads as follows:

The single object the representatives of the associated Powers have had in mind their discussions of the course they should pursue with regard to Russia has been to help the Russian people, not to hinder them or to interfere in any manner with their right to settle their own affairs in their own way.

They regard the Russian people as their friends, not their enemies, and are willing to help them in any way they are willing to be helped. It is clear to them that the troubles and distrust of the Russian people will steadily increase, hunger and privation of every kind become more and more acute, more and more widespread and more and more impossible to relieve unless order is restored and normal conditions of labor, trade, and transportation once more created, and they are seeking some way in which to assist the Russian people to establish order.

No Attempt at Dictation.

They recognize the absolute right of the Russian people to direct their own affairs without dictation or direction of any kind from outside. They do not wish to exploit or make use of Russia in any way.

They recognize the revolution without reservation and will in no way and in no circumstances aid or give countenance to any attempt at a counter revolution.

It is not their wish or purpose to favor or assist any one of the organized groups now contending for the leadership and guidance of Russia, as against the others. Their sole

and sincere purpose is to do what they can to bring Russia peace and an opportunity to find her way out of her present troubles.

The associated Powers are now engaged in the solemn and responsible work of establishing the peace of Europe and of the world, and they are keenly alive to the fact that Europe and the world cannot be at peace if Russia is not. They recognize and accept it as a duty to serve Russia as generously, as unselfishly, as thoughtfully, as ungrudgingly as they would serve any other friend and ally, and they are ready to render this service in the way that is most acceptable to the Russian people.

Meeting on Princes' Islands.

In this spirit and with this purpose they have taken the following action: They invite every organized group that is now exercising or attempting to exercise political authority or military control anywhere in Siberia, or within the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war just concluded, except in Finland, to send representatives, not exceeding three representatives for each group, to Princes' Islands, Sea of Marmora, where they will be met by representatives of the associated Powers, provided in the meantime there is a truce of arms among the parties invited, and that all armed forces anywhere sent or directed against any people or territory inside the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war, or against Finland, or against any people or territory whose autonomous action is in contemplation in the fourteen articles upon which the present negotiations are based, shall be meanwhile withdrawn and aggressive military actions cease.

These representatives are invited to confer with the representatives of the associated Powers in the freest and frankest way, with a view to ascertaining the wishes of all sections of the Russian people, and bringing about, if possible, some understanding and agreement by which Russia may work out her own purposes, and happy, co-operative relations be established between her people and the other peoples of the world.

A prompt reply to this invitation is requested. Every facility for the journey of the representatives, including transportation across the Black Sea, will be given by the Allies, and all the parties concerned are expected to give the same facilities. The representatives will be expected at the place appointed by the 15th of February, 1919.

On February 6 the Russian Soviet Government announced by wireless sent from Moscow by M. Tchitherin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that it was willing to attend the proposed conference and begin conversations with the Entente for a cessation of military activities. It also announced that it was willing to acknowledge the financial obligations of Russia to creditors. The message also indicated that the Soviet Government was willing to make concessions in mines, forests, etc., to citizens of the Entente Governments, providing the social and economic order of the Soviet Government is not affected by internal disorders connected with these concessions. Finally it was stated that "the extent to which the Soviet Government is prepared to meet the Entente will depend on its military position in relation to that of the Entente Governments, and it must be emphasized that its position improves every day."

The Supreme Council, on receiving this information, at once set about making arrangements to send a joint committee of two representatives from each of the five great Powers to meet the representatives of the Soviet Government, but at a later date than originally announced, owing to the delay in getting a response from any source as to its invitation of January 25. The decision of the Soviet Government represents the opportunism of Lenine rather than the radicalism of Trotsky, a line of demarcation between these leaders on the plan of future action of Russia in the field of

international relationships having been noticeable for some time.

On February 9 it was announced that the special commission of the Conference to be sent to Princes Island would have the following personnel: William Allen White of Emporia, Kansas, and Prof. Geo. D. Herron, for the United States; M. Conty, the French Minister to Copenhagen, and General Bampon, for France; Sir Robert Borden, Premier of Canada, and a military delegate, for Great Britain, and the Marquis della Torreta, former Ambassador in Petrograd, for Italy.

On February 10 word came that the Soviet Government of the Ukraine would be represented at the conference.

Up to the date of going to press none of the anti-Bolshevik provisional governments in northern and southern Russia have agreed to take part in the conference, though their representatives are in Paris and are in *quasi*-official with the Supreme Council's representatives.

GOVERNMENTS OR PEOPLES?

President Wilson, February 3rd, addressing members of the Chamber of Deputies of the French National Legislature, Senators, cabinet members and President Poincaré, began by gracefully and movingly depicting the ties, past and present, which bind the United States and France together. He also did full justice to the peculiar responsibilities and duties which have devolved upon France as the armed defender of civilization in the past, and how surely she may count upon the aid of America in the future if she again is attacked. He then proceeded to add:

I visited the other day a portion of the devastated region of France. I saw the noble city of Rheims in ruins, and I could not help saying to myself "here is where the blow fell because the rulers of the world did not sooner see how to prevent it."

The rulers of the world have been thinking of the relations of governments and forgetting the relations of peoples. They have been thinking of the maneuvers of international dealings, when what they ought to have been thinking of was the fortunes of men and women and the safety of home and the care that they should take that their people should be happy because they were safe.

They know that the only way to do this is to make it certain that the same thing will not always happen that has happened this time; that there never shall be any doubt or waiting or surmise, but that whenever France or any free people is threatened the whole world will be ready to vindicate its liberty.

It is for that reason, I take it, that I find such a warm and intelligent enthusiasm in France for the Society of Nations—France with her keen vision, France with her prophetic vision.

It seems to be not only the need of France but the need of mankind. And France sees the sacrifices which are necessary, for the establishment of the Society of Nations is not to be compared with the constant dread of another catastrophe falling on the fair cities and areas of France.

There was a no more beautiful country. There was a no more prosperous country. There was a no more free-spirited people. All the world had admired France and none of the world grudged France her greatness and her prosperity except those who grudged her liberty and her prosperity. And it has profited us, terribly as the cost has been, to witness what has happened, to see with the physical eye what has happened, because injustice was wrought.

The president of the chamber has pictured, as I cannot picture, the appalling sufferings, the terrible tragedy of France, but it is a tragedy which could not be repeated. As the pattern of history has disclosed itself it has disclosed the hearts of men drawing toward one another. Comrade-

ships have become vivid. The purpose of association has become evident.

The nations of the world are about to consummate a brotherhood which will make it unnecessary in the future to maintain those crushing armaments which make the peoples suffer almost as much in peace as they suffered in war.

A LEAGUE OF FREE PEOPLES.

Non-official but Expert Advice Given to the Paris Conference.

Shortly after the Conference formally opened representatives of the leading American, British, and Italian Peace Societies began to arrive in Paris. They came to watch, to counsel when and where they could without giving offence, and to be prepared to report to their home societies as to the informal as well as formal history of the historic gathering. One of these reporters was the Editor of the *ADVOCATE*.

Of course they soon got in touch with eminent French co-laborers in the same cause and quite naturally the conviction was soon formed that acting together, as an international group, they might formulate a statement of ideals for the Conference to follow, one which, at the same time, would be shaped by knowledge of actual conditions in Europe and especially those to be found in Paris among the commissioners.

This decision as to the desirability of some such concerted statement undoubtedly was hastened by the statements made by the French Premier, M. Clemenceau, to the French advocates of a League of Nations, when they waited on him and, through Senator Bourgeois, expressed their desire that France should co-operate heartily in the effort to create a League. M. Clemenceau, in his reply, announced that it would be well, he thought, for advocates of such a course by France to first agree among themselves as to what they wanted the Conference to do.

On February 1 the Conference's committee on a Society of Nations, had presented to it formally the plan on which American, British, Italian, French and other advocates of a law-governed world had agreed, and which they commended to the Conference for study and adoption so far as is possible. This plan it will be noted is called

A League of Free Peoples.

It is to be organized for the following purposes, set forth in general outlines:

First, to submit all disputes among themselves to methods of peaceful settlement.

Second, to prevent or suppress jointly, by use of all the means at their disposal, any attempt by any State to disturb the peace of the world by acts of war.

Urge International Council.

Third, to establish an international court of justice, charged with the duty of deciding all justiciable disputes and insuring execution of its decisions by all appropriate international sanctions, juridic, economic, and, if necessary, military.

Fourth, to establish an international representative council providing for development of international law and taking common action in matters of general concern, and watching over the freedom of nations and the maintenance of international order. Considering itself invested with the moral guardianship of uncivilized races, the council will secure the execution and promote the general development of international covenants necessary for the protection and progress of these races. A permanent committee of conciliation shall handle all differences between the associated nations, acting as conciliator or mediator and referring differences either to

arbitration or to the court of justice. In the event of any State refusing to obey either the award of the arbitrator or the decision of the committee, application for appropriate sanctions will be proposed to the representative council and to the associated Powers and to the committee. These sanctions shall be obligatory in the case of violence or aggression.

Fifth, to limit and supervise the armaments of each nation and manufacture of all materials of war and munitions having regard to the requirements of the League.

Sixth, to renounce the making of secret treaties.

Seventh, to admit to the League on the basis of equal rights before the law all peoples able and willing to give effective guarantees of their loyal intentions to observe its covenants.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

... **Austria**, as distinct from Hungary and former portions of the dual empire that are now parts of new republics or that are separate political entities, has still to make the final choice as to whether it will be a republic by itself or join with the republicanized Germany of tomorrow, whatever precise form that nation may take after the national assembly meets at Weimar, Feb. 7. Opinion of late has been solidifying in favor of Austria's choosing the latter course, providing there is any sense of fair play on the part of the new German government, and a passing of the attitude toward Austrian Germans such as Prussia has stood for since the Bismarckian régime began. It is admitted that Poland as reconstructed will probably include Galicia, and that German Moravia and Bohemia are lost to the newly created Czecho-Slovak republic. Broadly speaking, there has been a very real people's victory in Austria, and a very much quieter and less violent overturning of the monarchy and the aristocracy than Germany has seen. All possibility of a restoration of the Hapsburgs or a return of the old union with the Magyars is past; and there is a natural drift toward union with the Teutons of Germany proper, especially now that it seems probable that Prussian influence is to be diminished and Berlin to be curbed in power. From the economic, intellectual and social standpoints, it also seems doubtful whether Vienna ever again will be the gay, rich city she has been for so long a time. Budapest and Prague will gain at Vienna's expense.

... **Impending "Prohibition" in the United States** is variously interpreted as to its international effects. It is argued that Europeans used to alcoholics will not migrate to the republic; to which statement it is retorted that persons thus minded, even if all other considerations were favorable, would not be missed, even with former standards of admission to the country in force. But they are not to be. Congress in response to a popular demand plans to shut the doors on drinkers and non-drinkers, Bolsheviki and capitalist, desirable and undesirable immigrants for some time to come—some argue for two years, some four years, and some for always. Yet another angle of the "prohibition" decree is shown by the claim that with the law enforced the United States will gain so much economically and morally through exclusion of the traffic that she will increase her already well established lead among the nations as a wealth-creating and conserving state, and